

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

583 the young wife of Wasē, aged perhaps ten (Pl. 7b), was thus living
 595 in Wasē's hut at the time of my residence.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

585 No further ceremony takes place until the girl has 'grown big'.
 Some people wait until she has menstruated for the first time
 before they hold the feast at which she is given to her husband,
 sometimes it is held before she has menstruated, in which case the
 husband does not wait for this to happen before consummating
 the marriage.

585 When the time for this feast is getting near, all the women *kōma*
 285 (dance and yell, see p. 414). At first they *kōma* without feasting
 for several nights. They prepare baskets to hold the food to be
 • [385] used in the ceremony. These are made of a kind of rattan cane
 [438] dyed red (*riri*). The coastal people are obliged to buy this red cane
 from the people of the mountains, who alone know the secret of
 the dye. The baskets are trimmed with *beroan* round the edges,
 and trade beads are hung over them. Before they had any trade
 beads they used dogs' teeth for this purpose. The baskets are also
 trimmed with all sorts of aromatic plants and leaves. The boy's
 mother makes one basket, the girl's mother makes another. The
 general name for these baskets is *seban*; the special name for baskets
 made by the people of the Nakarib clan is *kuwir* or *kuwirtsun*, for
 those of the Naboin clan *popalat*. When the baskets are finished,
 all the women come with them and hang them up on the branch
 of a tree, then the women take bows and arrows, paddles, axes, &c.,
 and jump about (*sani*) waving them, and the slit-gong is beaten.

585 When the time for the feast is close at hand, the basket made by
 the boy's mother is taken down and put in her hut. The girl's
 people come and fetch it, bringing in exchange the basket made by
 the girl's mother. This is a sign that the girl's mother has enough
 pigs and other food for the marriage ceremony. They take back
 the basket made by the boy's mother, which remains for a while
 at the house of the girl's mother, and the women of the girl's village
 go through the same performance with the bows and arrows
 and paddles.

[47] Meanwhile, the people of the boy's village have been making
 a platform (*tiwan*) out of split areca-palm trunks. The men make
 it in the bush, and leave it on the road close to the village. The
 women of the village go, singing, and ornament it with flowers and

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854 voice and leg; whenever it sounded. Wanias was not present, it
 [777] would have been considered very unlucky if he had accidentally
 852 put in an appearance. Apparently this performance is somewhat
 535 in the nature of a rehearsal.

852 All the next day the whole of the male population of the village
 565 was employed in making ceremonial pudding (see Pl. 33). Some
 of the men varied their labours by making Pan-pipes, and the
 women were making baskets of plaited coco-nut palm leaves to
 hold the pudding. These they made smaller than usual, because
 they were for a child. When the pudding-making was finished the
 slit-gong was sounded.

Just before sundown two specially large taro tubers, with leaves
 and stalk still attached, were laid on the front verandah (*tagoan*) of
 Wanias's maternal grandmother's hut, where he and his mother
 [292] live (his father is dead). On these was laid a very elaborately
 worked woman's hood, covered with an embroidered pattern made
 of strips of fibre and dried leaves, dyed red and brown, the kind
 of hood women wear on special occasions. On top of this was
 placed a sucking pig, held down by one of the older men of the
 village. Pinari, Wanias's mother's mother's brother, whom he calls
tsubunē (my grandfather), took some lengths of shell currency
 (*beroan*) and rubbed the pig's sides with it, beginning at the tail.

• [386] Then he took a large pinna shell full of red paint (*oin*) mixed with
 coco-nut oil, and rubbed the pig in the same way with that, then
 with the specially prepared pack, and then with a red loin-cloth.
 When all these things, which were to come in contact with Wanias
 in the course of the ceremony, had been passed from head to tail
 of the pig, it was allowed to run away. Then a number of the
 women, of both clans, came up in turn, and each sat on the hood
 for a minute. Two of the women who were *wat/itsio* to Wanias
 came first, but others followed who bore no relationship to him.
 852 A little girl, younger than Wanias, not related, but of the same clan,
 565 was held down on the hood while her hair was carefully trimmed
 302 by Koawu, one of the older men (it does not seem to matter who
 undertakes this duty). He trimmed it all round, particularly just
 over the temples and behind the ears, making a clean line. The
 way having been thus prepared, Rus, Wanias's mother, brought
 the little boy out of the hut and sat down on the hood with him on
 her lap. Koawu began to trim his hair in the same way. He was
 not at all pleased with the process, and wriggled so much that it

881 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their cover-
313 ings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be
required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by
313 the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with
621 renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split
leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the
occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing
in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the
824 *watawut* takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for
688 any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have
sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives,
a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened
that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the
watawut to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets
comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman
became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As
soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that
village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front
of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been
found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the
Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next
day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately,
and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to
obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the break-
ing of the taboo.

881 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of
292 the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawut*. These are elaborately
824 ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win*
leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed
● 386 with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the moun-
438 tain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed.
When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I
was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the
Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This
I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret
of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast
people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no
idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the *upi* is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2s. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm */// /// /// ... /*. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tobar*.

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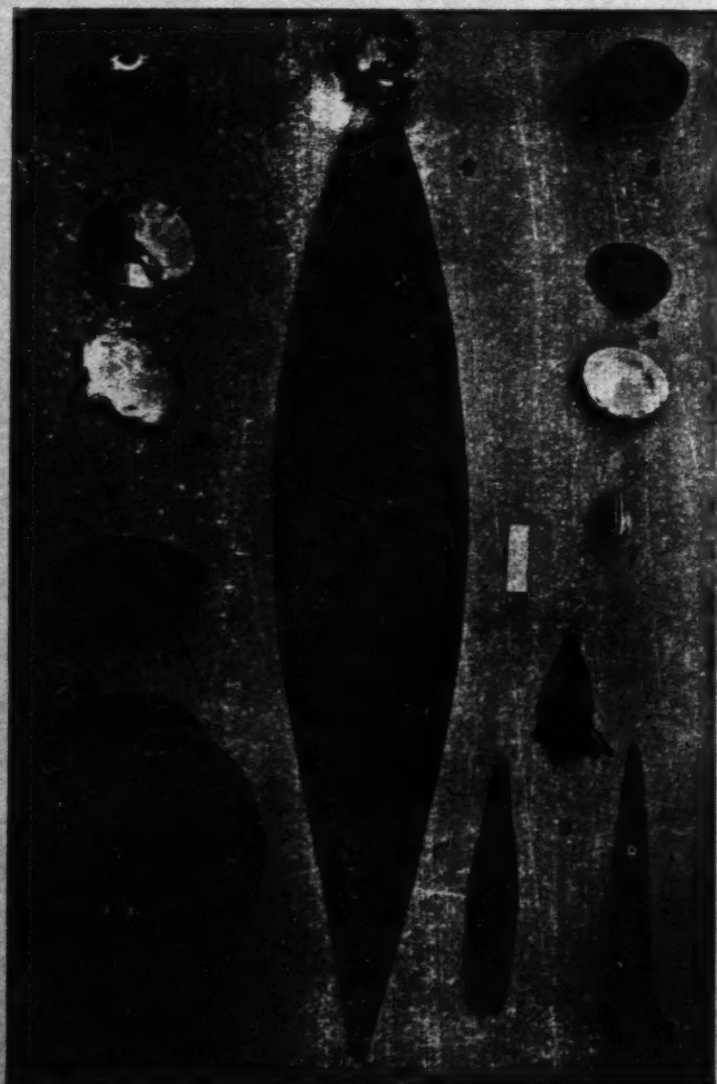
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1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 38



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SOME OBJECTS IN COMMON USE

1. Pine shell containing paint. 2. Stone for crushing paint, &c. 3. Women's
hair. 4, 5. Taro scrapers. 6. Spoons. 7. Tweezers. 8. Bone tools for making
thatch. 9. Coco-nut scraper made from canoe-paddle.

[Facing p. 292]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

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it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mō*) is a calcareous alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*būn*) may be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE¹

Meaning of Term.	Petats.	Kurtatchi.
Dug-out canoe with outrigger	<i>dʒini</i>	<i>tʃinfo</i>
Tree of which it is generally made	<i>uērtail</i>	<i>tʃintu</i>
Keel	<i>habin</i>	
Rim	<i>pónahan</i>	
Sides	<i>rehin</i>	
Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose')	<i>ūril</i>	<i>pəpirus</i>
Row	<i>mīs</i>	<i>matōm</i>
Stern	<i>tao</i>	<i>kəpits</i>
Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill')	<i>gōpo</i>	<i>tʃitʃio</i>
Slope of outline from keel to hook	<i>ldmut</i>	
Outrigger booms and poles forming platform	<i>kʰilil (kikilil)</i>	<i>wanēr</i>
Sticks (3) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened	<i>sōkau</i>	<i>tapār</i>
Cross-bars bracing platform	<i>pīnin</i>	<i>pīnail</i>
Stick attachment joining float to booms	<i>hi</i>	<i>he</i>
Binding fixing booms to canoe	<i>pīlīl</i>	<i>lau</i>
Creeper of which this is made (<i>Lygodium dichotomum</i> Sw.)	<i>alsam</i>	<i>dsam</i>
Outrigger float	<i>hātal or</i>	<i>ag or woga</i>
Paddle	<i>halas</i>	
	<i>hor</i>	<i>owes</i>

Size. Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual measurements varying slightly within each class: *dʒini hekerik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dʒini hahal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dʒini dʒin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

¹ Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 293).

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out of a solid piece of wood, in one piece. The pattern is always the same, varying only in size (Fig. 23). The seats themselves (poan) consist of planks merely laid on the top of the *mapō* without

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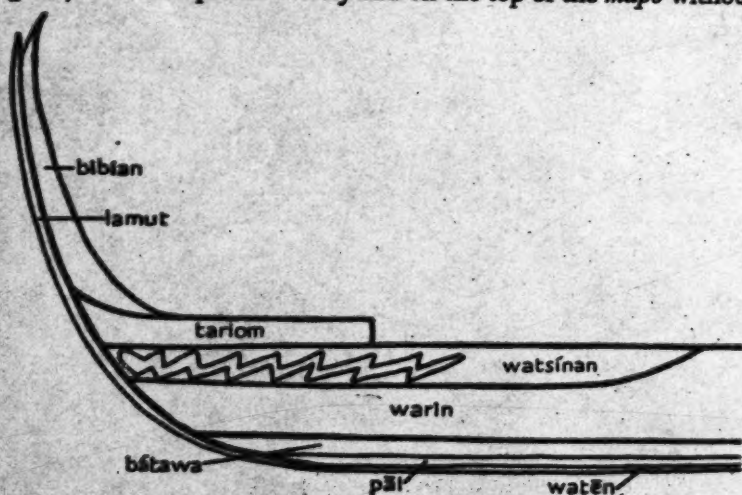


FIG. 22. Names of parts of a mon.



FIG. 23. Mapō, rib-frame of mon.

being fastened, which has the disadvantage that they are continually slipping, and having to be readjusted *en route*, to the great discomfort of the paddlers. At Tabut, while I was there, one man decided, on his own initiative, that it would be an improvement to make the seat in one piece with the *mapō*, and this was done on one canoe as an experiment.

On gala occasions both ends of the *mon* are decorated with streamers of grass, coloured a reddish-purple with a dye made from the roots of *Morinda citrifolia* rubbed on a piece of coral and mixed with lime, and then boiled with the grass it is desired to dye. These streamers (*kiper*) are fixed to the *lamut*.

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824 occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

294 In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *rivo* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

294 When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

294 The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62a). Some women are very skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

184 The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the

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535 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's
852 wheel formation.

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At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

- 386 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and
302 on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

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Red. Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),¹ formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *it/su*, and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

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Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *viro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

¹ For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Baysand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

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describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tfina*) consists of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

White (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tfina*, must be obtained by barter from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66a). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tfina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomois* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton

Burial Practices

Obviously, a person's death also gives rise to many festivities and ceremonies. In Buka and north Bougainville only two methods of burial are known: namely, aharre kuerre or submerging the corpse at sea; and ha zérokere de akui or burying the corpse. During the burial a great meal (a kānano a kapane) is provided by the survivors. The dance that is performed afterwards is called a kūmar. These festivities in honor of the deceased are repeated from time to time. During the ceremony men and women paint themselves white. -- In south Bougainville in Shortland the method is similar, but here cremation is also known, which is called hanghālī in Shortland and kasivei in Bougainville. Cremation of the body is a mark of the aristocrat and probably a custom imported from the south. Less exalted people are buried (mōā kūsiai in Bougainville and nahonaha in Shortland) or submerged in the ocean (fanfāntup in Shortland and on the coast). No matter what sort of burial, great banquets are the rule at all of them; naturally the cremation of the aristocrats is carried out on a magnificent scale. The funereal pyre is erected in the village itself, usually rectangular and flanked at each corner by a high pole. This pole is frequently carved roughly in the shape of a human face at the upper end and painted black or red; but I also saw very simple poles with no painting or carving; the latter as well as the former were called kakalo. After the corpse is placed on the pyre, the pyre is lighted to the accompaniment of loud lamenting and howling. The burning never suffices to transform the body completely into ashes; the bone remains are carefully collected by the family and kept for several days in the hut of the deceased; during this period the lament rarely ceases, and it is especially the wives who develop a particular virtuosity in this respect. After this period the actual burial of the remains takes place. In the place where the corpse was burned, between the four kakalo, a pit is dug and an earthen jug is deposited in it; the remains of the corpse are placed in this jug and a second jug is inverted over it, serving as a lid for the first; then the pit is filled up with dirt. This procedure is called irinaful in Shortland and nōmokai in Bougainville. Simultaneously most of the relatives put on a big banquet (funfapasa in Shortland and kāna mīnavaī in Bougainville), whereby everything edible is served, with the exception of taro, which is forbidden on this occasion. The women put on mourning as before by covering their faces and the upper

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chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called ma (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

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Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siuai, but likewise no farther north than there.

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

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Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

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frequently finger thick; it is simply knotted in back. In Buka and north Bougainville the women stick a bundle of dried foliage under this belt so that the genitals are concealed. Young girls as a rule do without even this clothing. Over this first belt frequently a broader belt smeared red with ochre is placed; it is likewise called mavesi. [386] It consists of strips of rattan laid next to each other, which are tied to each other with thin strands of thread in such a way that the rattan strips form the warp for the very carefully executed weaving. These belts are 5 to 8 centimeters wide; they are worn only by old and married women. In Taboroi on the east coast of Bougainville the married women wear large dried leaves of a fan palm, whose outer edge is embroidered with a delicate and broad pattern of dark fiber material; this apron is pressed firmly against the front part of the body with one hand when the wearer is walking or sitting. In a village inland from Taboroi I saw a very pretty genital apron on some women. It was made of fine fibers dyed red; a number of these fibers of eighty centimeters length were woven in the center -- for about ten centimeters of their length -- to form a cord of about the thickness of a pencil, and several of these strands were attached lengthwise to one another. The skirt is shoved underneath the belt and the woven part is then folded over the top. A few women were wearing over this genital skirt an even broader belt made of an approximately ten centimeter wide plant material (pandanus?); this was woven through with dark red fibers and wound several times around the waist.

Among the various clothing objects one must also name the umbrellas and parasols made of strips of pandanus leaves, which are used in the Bougainville Strait as well as in Buka. The rectangle of 100 x 60 centimeters which is made out of pandanus strips sewn together is folded lengthwise and sewed together at one end; to use it one places the upper sewed end over the head and lets the remaining part fall down across the back. This article of clothing is completely rain repellent. Sometimes it is made of natural-colored and red-dyed strips, and sometimes the edges or even the whole thing is worked with pretty patterns. [293] [824]

Jewelry is not extensively used. Natives like those of the northern Solomon Islands, who always have their weapons at hand and expend the greatest care on them, do not have a highly developed sense for bodily decoration. Gay-colored blossoms and foliage are occasionally used in the dances; a red hibiscus blossom in the black woolly hair is a favorite ornament of the young dandies. In addition, however, 301

not unlike our scale-chains [Schuppenketten: A part of the German parade uniform, ed.] --is wound around the wrist. 301

Leg ornaments are seldom worn. On Bougainville I have occasionally observed rattan bands that were bound tightly around the ankles and that were sometimes dyed red; these rings are woven around the ankle and cannot be removed.

For toilet purposes a comb is used or, more properly speaking, an instrument for scratching the hair. Sometimes this instrument consists of a single, thin, pointed piece of wood, and sometimes it has from two to five teeth. Bamboo is the material normally used, but in south Bougainville they make them with greater care. There the upper end is often neatly woven for about 4 to 6 centimeters with variously colored bast fibers. The owner of a comb like this sticks it into his thick woolly tuft and, when he has the time and opportunity he scratches his hairdo into place. I wish to observe here also that the islanders do not treat their hair with lime; only on festive [22] occasions do they dye their hair with various pigments pulverized in oil. Red, green and white are the favorite colors, and by means of these various patterns are produced. The same colors serve also for the beautification of the body: burned ochre supplies the material for the red streaks around the eyes and mouth or for dyeing the external ear red; white is less common and is for the most part customary only for certain mourning ceremonies. [38] ●

Money

In Buka and northern Bougainville, as well as on the Carteret and Nissan Islands, three different types of money are to be found, of which two are characteristic for this region. Almost all the types of money that I have seen in the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands consist of shells worked to a greater or lesser extent; in the northwest part of the Solomon group the current money is made of animal teeth. The generic term for it is ulhu, but it is divided into two types, called reki and bain: reki consists of the teeth of a type of bat; bain, on the other hand, is made from the teeth of dolphins. A string of reki has about 300 teeth and is about 110 centimeters long, whereas the bain strings consist of about 500 teeth and are 3 meters long; however, they are of equal value. All the teeth are bored through at the root and strung on a thin thread. The teeth are 436 [77]

In its entire length this spear measures approximately 340 centimeters, 411 of which about 60 centimeters comprise the ornamented tip. The body of the spear is made of a hard palm wood and at the thickest point is about 2 1/2 centimeters in diameter; the end opposite the point tapers gradually and is about .5 centimeters in diameter at the end. The inland inhabitants call this spear kugu, and the Shortland Islanders, who mediate its export, potulu. The various parts of the point have their own names. First, the outermost tip -- about 1 1/2 centimeters long -- is carefully bound with yellow bast. Then there are 6 rows of barbs, which are arranged in groups of four in such a way that the ones closest to the extreme tip are the shortest. This last group of the six rows of barbs is called fruk (Shortland: kukuluna). Then there follow two rows of four barbs each, which are substantially longer than the barbs of the fruk. These two rows are called itina and itina takanne, and the individual barbs are named masinke and māmongke; the barbs of the row towards the tip (masinke) are about 6 centimeters long and those of the following row (māmongke) about 8 centimeters. There now follows a row of four approximately 10 centimeter long barbs, which are called puugu (Shortland: kumaisi). Between the four puugu there stand four rows, each having five short barbs--about .5 centimeters long--called siskfa; they are fastened to the spear shaft by means of fine bast threads and coated with a white clay found in the mountains and called moruvasi (Shortland: fioti). This just-described section comprises the actual tip of the spear. The barbs are made from the wingbones of the flying dog (Pteropus, "bat"); the outer end is sharply pointed, and the inner end is sunk into the spear shaft and fastened here with the pulverized nut of Parinarium laurinum, which here is called osho. A brown earth, ugura, and a white earth moruvasi are used to decorate the shaft as well as the barbs. This barbed part of the spear is followed by an ornamented section, which 531 can never be completely missing even if it occasionally is not completely executed. This ornamented section consists of four divisions: 411 first, the last row of barbs is followed by a carefully executed wrapping 171 of the shaft with red and yellow plant fibers of about one millimeter 284 in width. The yellow ones are called rutta (Shortland: latili) and the red ones rakagasi (Shortland: pūnaga); they are the external covering or skin of a type of rush that grows in the interior. By means of various treatments, it assumes these colors. This woven work forms a row of alternately red and yellow zigzag lines, which run around the spear

535 The Buka dance or *gwma* is an uninteresting spectacle. Unlike other Melanesian dances there is very little action and the [53] accompanying singing is but a constant repetition of "O-a-o-a" in as many keys as the human voice is capable of rendering. The men walk slowly around in a circle while the women, standing some ten yards away, advance to the edge of the circle from time to time and in pairs bend their bodies backwards and forwards, or in threes and fours skip sideways to and fro. From a distance the singing is often harmonious, but when heard at close quarters it is both ear-splitting and appalling to a musical listener.

[534] The singing is accompanied by the beating of the hollowed-out
202 wooden drums (*tui*) with series of short staccato raps from the soft-nosed beaters. These *tui* can be heard for many miles when weather conditions are favourable and are used extensively for signalling. Some of the Buka districts have elaborate *tui* codes, and are able to send detailed messages from village to village. Among the more [763] simplified signals is that denoting a death and is made by ten long beats, pause, three short, pause, three short, pause, five short, pause, five short, pause, and ten long. When a man is annoyed over something (his wife has failed to cook the taro, or a pig has died) and he wishes to "tell the world" he raps out ten long beats, a pause, then another ten long beats. The arrival of a stranger in a village is denoted by three long beats, pause, followed by three series of seven short beats interspersed with pauses. The general call to assemble in a village is three series of three shots and one long beat.

302 The men usually wear their hair long and combed upright.

[846] The hair of a woman is close-cropped, except when she has given birth to a child and then it is allowed to grow long until the child is able to crawl about. The women wear a hood made from pandanus

291 leaves sewn horizontally together, with every other leaf dyed red

● 356 with the root of a bush. This custom is to prevent certain of their male relatives from seeing their hair, which is taboo. A loin cloth

291 of red or coloured print serves as the general garment for both sexes.

177 A few years ago the women wore a small grass *tahu*, and in former days the men wore no covering.

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fighting-men. This change is but another proof of the decadence²⁸¹
of old-time customs in Buka. [177]

Initiates of today range from nine to fifteen years of age. They undergo no particular preparation other than strict instructions to do as they are told by the older men. Initiates are called *tsoeson*, those already initiated are termed *putz-putzi*, and the chiefs, masters and headmen are known as *muri-na-lium*.

When a meeting of *muri-na-lium* decides to hold a Ndook ceremony (such decision being governed by the number of candidates available) word is sent to all *putz-putzi* one or two months prior to the fixed date. A general meeting is held and ways and means decided upon for obtaining taro; the making of *makot* (scraped taro and coconut oil); the guests to be invited; those *muri-na-lium* who will exhibit totem figures, and the number of *bahuan* figures that will be made. The supplying of pigs is left to one or two of the older chiefs who secretly despatch a third man to the houses of owners of good fat pigs. This man stealthily thrusts a thick stick, [202] used for carrying trussed pigs, through the doors of the pig-owners. This is a direct sign from Ndook that the owner must provide a pig [628] for the spirit. Failure to do so would entail death. Such penalties have been enforced even of late years.

The totem figures are called *malai*, and are representative of⁷⁷⁸
either the *kehilian* (bush fowl) or *naboin* (sea hawk) totems, which⁵³²
are the only two existing in Buka. The figures, carved from soft timber, take the form of a huge bird gaudily painted with native [324] pigments, stencil ink purloined from some neighbouring plantation, or washing blue. They represent the spirit of a deceased chief or headman belonging to the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting the *malai*. Usually four or five *malai* appear at a ceremony from one village.

The *bahuan*, or secondary spirits (considering Ndook as being⁷⁷⁶
of the first order), consist of wooden images seven to eight feet⁷⁷⁸
high carved also from soft wood (see Plate II, A). They are attached⁵³²
at the base to long sticks which enable them to be lifted by the *putz-putzi*, who are covered with leaves or bushes. The *bahuan* also represent deceased chiefs of the same totem as the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting them. Keen rivalry is evinced in making these carvings. Sometimes the arms, mouth, tongue, penis or hands are manipulated

776 by means of a string. The *bahuan* shown in Plate II, B, was ac-
[532] claimed a work of art by the spectators. It consisted of a frame-
work of rattan covered with black calico, beneath which a *muri-na-
lium* danced and gyrated.

881 Ceremonies are held in a special taboo area upon which no
688 woman is permitted at any time to tread. Any matters connected
with Ndook are kept strictly secret from the women (*be-hay*, as
Ndook has named them). If one of them trespasses on this ground,
catches sight of a carving to be used in a ceremony, or acquires any
knowledge of the Ndook, she is put to death even today.

881 A week to ten days prior to the date of the ceremony *putz-putzi*
776 are detailed to wander about the taboo ground operating the *liahan*
and *rago*. The former is a bull-roarer which is looked upon as being
the voice of the chief spirit or god. (The word *liahan* seems to
signify god rather than a spirit, inasmuch as *Liahan* is the omnipotent
creator of everything. He is invisible, and no attempt has been
made to create his likeness in an image as has been done to spirits.)

[534] The *rago* is an oscillatory-ribbon-reed instrument⁸ consisting of a
portion of a coconut leaf tied between two thin strips of stick and
fastened into half a coconut shell. A shrill piercing note is given
out when the instrument is blown upon. The *rago* represents the
cry of Ndook's wife. These cries are continued throughout the
days and nights prior to the ceremony and increase in volume and
frequency as the appointed day approaches. Along certain high-
ways the travels of Ndook are marked by bushes being trampled
down and small trees uprooted.

881 Guests from neighbouring islands arrive quietly during the
night prior to the ceremony and land near the ceremonial ground,
keeping hidden from any women and *tseezen*.

When all preparations have been made, *bahuan* and *malai*
completed, beds for food erected, and the various *putz-putzi* detailed
to their tasks of operating the *bahuan*, carrying *malai* or merely to
act as members of the attacking party, the *tseezen* are called from
their respective houses by six or seven *muri-na-lium*. They emerge

• [534] half-fearfully with painted faces and hair oiled and smeared with

⁸Notes and Queries, Fifth Ed., page 303.

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red oxide paint and struggle to escape the retaining holds of their mothers. The *muri-na-lium* wildly brandish spears and axes to frighten the women. ⁸⁸¹ [286]

All *tseezen* are then paraded in a circle as a farewell to their mothers and female relatives. The women fling themselves down upon the ground, crying and moaning and calling on their sons to remain with them rather than brave the dangers of Ndook. They work themselves into a paroxysm of fear and reach a stage bordering hysteria. (I have noted occasions when several women in throwing themselves upon the ground have become divested of their loin-cloths and, quite oblivious of the fact, have rolled about naked. At the present time a Pororan woman would ordinarily never do this. As the *tseezen* march around accompanied by the *muri-na-lium* the latter keep the women at a distance with the aid of their weapons. After half-an-hour or so the *tseezen* are led away to the ceremonial ground, followed as far as the boundary of the village by a wailing hysterical crowd of female relatives. When they arrive at the ground they are ranged in a line, together with their guards, who hold each one by the arm to prevent his escape. [158] [334]

From every direction there then arises the cry of the *liahan* and the squawking piercing notes of the *rago*. From the direction whence the *bahuan* and the *malai* will come then rise the shouts of the *muri-na-lium* and the *putz-putzi* as they slowly advance through the bush. As they emerge, covered in bush leaves or thin strips of coconut fronds (see Plate II, B), and carrying the images a small number of the *muri-na-lium* rush toward them and engage in a mock fight, their purpose being to make a pretence of defending the *tseezen* from the ravages of Ndook. Sometimes an attacker will rough-handle a *tseezen* for a few moments, but seldom is any bodily harm done in these conflicts. The *bahuan* and the *malai* are then placed in the centre of the clearing and are surrounded by the *putz-putzi*. Here they remain for a short space of time and are then taken away to the bush with much shouting, accompanied by the roarings of the *liahan* and cries of the *rago*. The *muri-na-lium* then explain to the newly-initiated youths the absolute necessity for strict secrecy to be maintained towards all *tseezen* and women in respect of what they have seen. The penalty following any [689] ^{breach is death.}